

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3858

INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN

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AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 BELGRADE 8519

USDEL CSCE

FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV FROM USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11752: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, OCON

SUBJECT: BELGRADE CSCE -- DAILY HIGHLIGHTS, DECEMBER 1

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SUMMARY. AS UNEXPECTED FIRST SNOW FELL ON BELGRADE, WORKING BODIES CONTINUED EFFORT TO COPE WITH BLIZZARD OF NEW PROPOSALS. BASKET THREE HAD GOOD INITIAL EXPERIENCE WITH INFORMAL AGREEMENT TO LIMIT DISCUSSION DURING FIRST READING TO 45 MINUTES PERPROPOSAL. BASKET ONE RANGED OVER HALF-DOZEN PROPOSALS PRODUCING NO SURPRISES WHILE FRENCH INDICATE TO NATO CAUCUS THAT THEY REMAIN WITHOUT FLEXIBILITY ON

SOVIET CBM MANEUVER CEILING PROPOSAL. BASKET TWO WENT ON WITH DRAFTING, AND FOLLOW-UP CONTINUED TO EXPLORE ESOTERIC ROMANIAN THEORIES. END SUMMARY.

1. BASKET ONE (PRINCIPLES) -- NORWEGIAN, CANADIAN, AND PORTUGUESE REPS EXPRESSED STANDARD ALLIED CAUTIONS ABOUT EASTERN PROPOSALS ON PROVIDING ADDITIONAL SECURITY TO DIPLOMATS AND OTHER (BM/9) AND INCREASING BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS (BM/40) WHILE TURKISH REP REPEATED STRONG SUPPORT FOR FORMER. BELGIAN REP AGAIN REBUTTED EASTERN CRITICISM OF ALLIED PROPOSAL ON ROLE OF INDIVIDUALS (BM/14) AND SUGGESTED THAT TWO EASTERN PROPOSALS MIGHT BE MORE ACCEPTABLE IF MORE ANODYNE. HE SUGGESTED THAT FORMER, FOR EXAMPLE, MIGHT EXPRESS COMMON RESPONSIBILITY OF PARTICIPATING STATES TO PROVIDE ADEQUATE SECURITY WHILE DROPPING REQUIREMENT TO TAKE "ADDITIONAL MEASURES" AND THAT LATTER MIGHT MERELY RECOGNIZE USEFUL ROLE THAT BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS CAN PLAY WITHOUT SUGGESTING THERE IS NEED FOR MORE, OR MORE HIGH-LEVEL, CONTACTS.

2. YUGOSLAV REP SAID HIS DEL ATTACHES GREAT IMPORTANCE TO HAVING SOMETHING IN CONCLUDING DOCUMENT ON NATIONAL MINORITIES (BM/47) BUT "WHAT IS IMPORTANT IS THE IDEA NOT THE EXACT WORDING" OF THEIR PROPOSAL. IRISH REP EXPRESSED SYMPATHY IN PRINCIPLE BUT ASKED FOR CLARIFICATIONS. SOVIET, GDR, HUNGARIAN, AND CZECH REPS IGNORED YUGOSLAV PROPOSAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

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CONCENTRATED ON PRAISING TWO GDR PROPOSALS (BM/54 AND BM/55) ON BANNING NAZI-TYPE ORGANIZATIONS AND WAR PROPAGANDA AND ON IMPORTANCE OF IMPLEMENTING FINAL ACT AND DEVELOPING TREATY RELATIONS ON BASIS OF FINAL ACT, RESPECTIVELY. FRENCH REP SAID LATTER PROPOSAL HAD PROMISING NUCLEUS. EASTERN REPS, HOWEVER, SEEMED MAINLY INTERESTED IN USING FORMER PROPOSAL AS BASIS FOR THINLY VEILED ATTACKS ON ALLEGED NEO-NAZIS IN FRG AND FOR RECALLING WARTIME SACRIFICE OF RED ARMY AND SOVIET PEOPLE.

3. BASKET ONE (CBMS) -- NATO CBMS CAUCUS MET WITH TURKEY AND ICELAND ASSENT. ALL REPS EXCEPT THOSE OF LUXEMBOURG, WHO REMAINED SILENT, AND FRANCE REPORTED DESIRE, OR AT LEAST READINESS, OF THEIR GOVERNMENTS TO MAKE SOME POSITIVE RESPONSE TO SOVIET PROPOSAL TO LIMIT SIZE OF MANEUVERS. MOST FAVORED THIS ONLY IN RETURN FOR SOVIET CONCESSIONS ON PROPOSALS OF INTEREST TO WEST. FRENCH REP SAID PARIS REMAINED FIRMLY OPPOSED TO SOVIET PROPOSAL ON PRINCIPLE; HE SAID HE HAD NO INSTRUCTION ON WHETHER THIS OPPOSITION WOULD EXTEND TO ALTERNATIVES INVOLVING SOMETHING LESS THAN OUTRIGHT RESTRICTION OF MANEUVER SIZE BUT THOUGHT IT PROBABLY WOULD. ALLIES ALSO EXCHANGED VIEWS ON SPECIFICS

OF DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS AND HEARD UK SUGGESTION THAT THEY
MIGHT CONSIDER COUNTERING WARSAW PACT'S NUCLEAR NON-FIRST-
USE PROPOSAL WITH A PROPOSAL ON NUCLEAR USE ALONG LINES OF
PRESIDENT CARTER'S UN STATEMENT. THERE WAS GENERAL

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USCINCEUR
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 BELGRADE 8519

AGREEMENT THAT IT WAS TOO LATE TO ATTEMPT TO GET NATO
AGREEMENT ON SUCH A TEXT, WHATEVER INTRINSIC MERITS OF
IDEA. UK REPORTED HUNGARIAN STATEMENT INDICATING EXPECTATION
THAT SERIOUS DRAFTING WILL NOT COMMENCE UNTIL AFTER
CHRISTMAS BREAK.

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4. BASKET TWO -- WORKING GROUP CONTINUED TO DISCUSS FIRST TWO POINTS OF POLISH PROPOSAL BM/E/5. BELGIAN REP, IN ATTEMPT TO COMPROMISE ON OBSTACLES TO TRADE SECTION, INTRODUCED FOLLOWING SUGGESTION AS SUBSTITUTE FOR FIRST TWO POINTS: "THE PARTICIPATING STATES EXPRESS THEIR WILLINGNESS TO INTENSIFY THEIR EFFORTS TO ENSURE A DYNAMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR TRADE AND AN IMPROVEMENT IN THE STRUCTURE OF SUCH TRADE; THEY WILL ALSO ENDEAVOR TO AVOID TO THE MAXIMUM EXTNET POSSIBLE THE INTRODUCTION OF ANY NEW OBSTACLES OF ANY KIND TO TRADE, AND FOR THIS PURPOSE THEY WILL GIVE SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THE CONDITIONS OF SALES OF THEIR PRODUCTS ON THEIR PARTNERS' MARKETS." ROMANIAN REP COMPLAINED THAT THIS DID NOT ADDRESS CONCEPT OF REDUCING OBSTACLES AND WAS LESS FORWARD LOOKING THAN FINAL ACT. GDR DELEGATE MAINTAINED REFERENCES TO TRADE LIBERALIZATION AND MFN IN POLISH PROPOSAL ARE PRINCIPAL ELEMENTS. HUNGARIAN REP SUGGESTED FOLLOWING REFORMULATION OF POLISH FIRST PARAGRAPH: "THE PARTICIPATING STATES ARE WILLING TO SEARCH MORE ACTIVELY FOR DYNAMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR TRADE IN PARTICULAR THROUGH ITS FASTER LIBERALIZATION, IMPROVEMENT OF ITS STRUCTURE AND THROUGH FULLY RESEPECTING THEIR INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS STIPULATING MFN TREATMENT." IN REPLY, BELGIAN REP NOTED THAT OCCASIONS MAY ARISE WHEN SALES IN CERTAIN MARKETS WOULD MAKE IT INEVITABLE TO INTRODUCE CERTAIN SAFEGUARD MEASURES AND THAT SUCH SAFEGUARDS DO NOT CONSTITUTE PROTECTIONISM. HE SAID THAT REFERENCE TO ACCELERATION TO REDUCING AND ELIMINATING OBSTACLES WAS OMMITTED AS COMPROMISE BUT THAT HE WAS WILLING TO ADD RELEVANT FINAL ACT QUOTATION.

5. SOVIET REP ACCEPTED FIRST PHRASE OF BELGIAN SUGGESTION IN PRINCIPLE AND SUGGESTED FOLLOWING PHRASE BE ADDED AFTER SEMICOLON: "WILL ENDEAVOR TO ACCELERATE THE PROCESS OF REDUCTION OR PROGRESSIVE ELIMINATION OF ALL KINDS OF TRADE
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OBSTACLES PRIMARILY OF THOSE OF DISCRIMINATORY CHARACTER, INTER ALIA THROUGH FULL APPLICATION OF THE MFN TREATMENT IN CONFROMITY WITH THEIR BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL COMMITMENTS (OBLIGATIONS)." US REP NOTED THAT MFN HAD BEEN DISCUSSED IN GENEVA AND THAT SAME CONDITIONS STILL EXIST. SUPPORTED BY FRG, HE SAID THAT IT WOULD BE BENEFICIAL TO AVOID MENTIONING SPECIFIC OBSTACLES AND TO FIND SOME GENERAL WORDING THAT IN ITSELF IMPLIED MOVEMENT TOWARD EXPANSION OF TRADE.

6. HUNGARY, DISCUSSING PROPOSAL ON TRADE INVOLVING MEDICAL EQUIPMENT (BM/E/12), SUGGESTED FOLLOWING CHANGES: ELIMINATION OF PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPHS; STRUCTURING OF OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH TO READ "THE PARTICIPATING STATES DECLARE THEIR READINESS TO DISCUSS AND TO EXAMINE IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE ECE POSSIBLE MEASURES."; AND INSERTION OF "INTER ALIA" AFTER PHRASE "SUCH MEASURES MAY INCLUDE". CZECHOSLOVAKIA SUGGESTED DISCUSSION OF BM/E/9 BE POSTPONED UNTIL IMPACT OF NEW ECE COMMITTEE FOR DISCUSSING TRADE OBSTACLES COULD BE ASSESSED.

7. BASKET THREE -- PACE OF WORK PICKED UP WITH ADOPTION OF INFORMAL AGREEMENT TO LIMIT DISCUSSION OF EACH NEW PROPOSAL TO ROUGHLY 45 MINUTES. NEW TIMETABLE, WHICH ENVISAGES COMPLETING FIRST READING OF REMAINING 19 PROPOSALS BY DECEMBER 9, WENT WELL FIRST DAY WITH WORKING BODY COVERING THREE PROPOSALS.

8. GDR PROPOSAL ON DISSEMINATION OF FINAL ACT (BM/51) MET WITH GENERAL APPROVAL, ALTHOUGH WESTERN DELS (NOTABLY UK AND DENMARK) PROPOSED INCLUDING REFERENCE TO CONTINUED WIDE AVAILABILITY OF FINAL ACT. DANISH DEL ALSO SUGGESTED CHANGING LAST LINE OF PROPOSAL TO READ "... WITH A VIEW TO A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF ALL PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT," AND DROPPING REFERNECE TO PAN-EUROPEAN SECURITY AND COOPERATION AND MUTUAL COMPREHENSION AMONG PEOPLES. IN
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WIDELY-SUPPORTED SUGGESTION, SWISS DEL NOTED POSSIBILITY OF INCLUDING FINAL DOCUMENT OF BELGRADE MEETING IN PURVIEW OF PROPOSAL, ALTHOUGH EASTERN DELS SUGGESTED FOLLOW-UP WORKING BODY AS PROPER FORUM FOR SUCH DISCUSSION. EASTERN DELS SUPPORTED YUGOSLAV PROPOSAL ON COOPERATION AMONG

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AMEMBASSY WARSAW

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USDEL MBFR VIENNA

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PRESS AGENCIES (BM/H/2), WESTERN REPS, ALTHOUGH SYMPATHETIC, NOTED PROBLEMS STEMMING FROM INABILITY OF THEIR GOVERNMENTS TO UNDERTAKE COMMITMENTS ON BEHALF OF PRIVATE ORGANIZATION. FRENCH PROPOSAL WELCOMING ESTABLISHMENT OF EUROPEAN JOURNALISTS' CLUB (BM/H/12) MET WITH VARYING DEGREES OF SUPPORT FROM WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DELS, WHILE SOVIET REP EXPRESSED DOUBTS AS TO ADVISABILITY OF INCLUDING SUCH STATEMENT IN FINAL DOCUMENT. CONFIDENTIAL

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9. IN NATO CAUCUS, DECISION WAS TAKEN TO APPROACH SOVIET REP ON POSSIBILITY OF SETTING UP INFORMAL DRAFTING GROUPS AT BEGINNING OF NEXT WEEK.

10. FOLLOW-UP -- ROMANIAN REP INITIATED YET ANOTHER THEORETICAL DISCUSSION BY ELABORATING ON DIFFERENCES BETWEEN "WIDER FOLLOW-UP CONCEPT", INCLUDING ALL IMAGINABLE POST-BELGRADE IMPLEMENTATION ACTIVITY, AND MORE RESTRICTED CONCEPT. HE SAID LATTER CONCEPT INCLUDES FOUR DISTINCT ASPECTS: A) BELGRADE-TYPE MEETINGS, B) EXPERTS GROUPS, C) "FOLLOW-UP BY TRANSFER" TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS (ECE AND UNESCO) AND D) POSSIBILITY OF ANOTHER HELSINKI-LEVEL CONFERENCE. HE STRESSED THAT UNILATERAL

AND BILATERAL ACTIVITY COULD NOT PROPERLY BE CONSIDERED PART OF FOLLOW-UP. SUPPORTED BY SWISS AND YUGOSLAV REPS, ROMANIAN REP CHARACTERIZED CONCERN OF SOME DELS OVER PROLIFERATION OF EXPERTS GROUPS AS "FALSE ALARM".

11. MALTESE AND SWISS REPS SPOKE OF DESIRABILITY OF HAVING CERTAIN EXPERTS GROUPS MEET MORE THAN ONCE IN PERIOD BETWEEN BELGRADE-TYPE MEETINGS. SWISS REP REFERRED SPECIFICALLY TO PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES MEETING AS EXAMPLE OF AN EXPERTS GROUP WHICH WOULD, OF NECESSITY, HAVE TO MEET MORE THAN ONCE IN ORDER TO FULFIL ITS TASK PROPERLY. DUTCH REP, DEMONSTRATING IMPATIENCE WITH EXCESSIVELY ACADEMIC NATURE OF RECENT DISCUSSIONS, ATTACKED NOTIONS OF "EXTENDED FOLLOW-UP" AND WIDE-RANGING EXPERTS GROUPS AS HAVING NO PRACTICAL IMPORTANCE AT PRESENT TIME. EMPHASIZING THAT FOLLOW-UP GROUP SHOULD BE DISCUSSING NATURE OF NEXT PREPARATORY MEETING, DUTCH REP EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR YELLOW BOOK, MUTATIS MUTANDIS, FORMULA IN DECIDING MODALITIES FOR NEXT SIMILAR MEETING. REITERATING EC-9
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POSITION ON EXPERTS GROUPS, HE OBSERVED THAT FINAL ACT MAKES ONLY ONE BRIEF REFERENCE TO THEM AS PART OF MULTILATERAL PROCESS OF IMPLEMENTATION. HE SAID PERIODICITY WAS PROBLEMATICAL SINCE HE FEARED THAT SOME DELS MIGHT USE IT TO TRY TO "FILL CALENDAR" WITH UNNECESSARY FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITY.

COMMENT: ALL INTERVENTIONS, BEGINNING WITH ROMANIANS, WERE OFF-THE -CUFF AND DID NOT APPEAR TO REPRESENT PLANNED INITIATIVES BY ANY DELEGATION. REAL ISSUES WILL PROBABLY BE JOINED DECEMBER 6 WHEN DANES INTRODUCE THEIR PLAN FOR MODALITIES FOR NEXT SIMILAR MEETING. END COMMENT.
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